I: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

173 every source; in Routledge's version the two canoes, called respectively *Oteka* and *Oua*, were bound together, "but as they came near the land the cord which united them was cut." Here perhaps is evidence of a dim memory of the double canoes in which the first settlers arrived. Roussel's description of Hotu-matua's canoes recalls some petroglyphs on the island representing boats. 173 Tepano remembered having heard that ancient boats had high, forked sterns. 501 Naturally, the description of Hotu-matua's canoe fits the type of craft that natives used before their culture was destroyed. The canoe of Hotu-matua was so long that it stretched from the little cove called Hira-moko, on the south of Anakena, to the big red hat about half a mile from Ovahe. The second boat was of the same dimensions, and there are also two landmarks that recall her size. Thomson's informants had a more sensible idea of the size of Hotu-matua's canoe, stating that it was 90 feet long and 6 feet deep (215, p. 528).

173 At sight of land, Hotu-matua asked his forerunners whether the interior was good. Ira answered with the cryptic sentence, "Kaina kino, hoki tai papaku, ka rivariva, tai ua ka okoko" (27, p. 40). Tepano interprets these words to mean, approximately, "The land is bad, when the tide is low it is good, when it is high we are decimated [?]." Routledge (194, p. 278) translates them, "When the sea is low we die few, when the sea is high we die many." She applies this statement to the land from which Hotu-matua came, but in the native text it seems clear that the words of Hotu-matua concern only the newly discovered land. Brown (27, p. 40) apparently tried to explain the words of Hotu-matua in the light of a catastrophe by inventing the following incident:

> While Ira was speaking with Hotu-matua the other forerunners were making wreaths for the king. After upbraiding Ira for his bad report, they declared that they were on their way back to Marae-renga. When Hotu-matua heard about their intention, he uttered his mysterious sentence about the tide. Brown sees in it a direct reference to a catastrophe which submerged Marae-renga. Despite Hotu-matua's advice, the four men set out for their home country.

There is some uncertainty as to who led the canoe which accompanied Hotu-matua. Routledge (194, p. 278) calls him Hinelilu, and his wife is Avarepua. Hinelilu, more correctly Hineriru, is probably the king Hinariru mentioned in Thomson's list as the fifth *ariki* (table 2, following p. 89). According to Thomson (215, p. 528), Hotu-matua's wife, Vakai, set out in one of the canoes "to explore the coast to the northwest while the other canoe, in charge of the king, rounded the island to the southeast." But this is not evidence that the second canoe was under the command of the chiefess. The native text reproduced here stresses the point that the second canoe was that of Tuu-ko-ihu, one of the most popular characters in Easter Island folklore. Although Thomson does not mention him, Tuu-ko-ihu, who, in a sense, is the culture

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

JOINT PROPERTY

Roussel (190, p. 428) says that the fields were planted and the crops harvested in common by the members of a household or by the people living at the same place [lineage]. The workers were rewarded with a feast (*hatu*), the size of which depended upon the extent of the land and the importance of the owner. The dimensions given by early voyagers for the dwelling houses suggest that several biological families, probably closely related, lived together.

Near the foundations of ancient houses are generally found chicken houses of stone in which the fowls were kept during the night. It is impossible to determine now what system of property was applied as regards poultry. Hens undoubtedly had a great value and were used for exchange. Today fowls are personal property and every man identifies his hens by an ownership mark cut on the legs. I was unable to discover whether ownership marks were used in ancient times or adopted under Chilian influence.

Today everyone gives freely of his clothes and of cooking and tilling implements. Between relatives there is a constant exchange of gifts conforming to patterns of reciprocity. Children are permitted to use anything they need from the houses of either their paternal or maternal relatives. During his first stay on the island, Eyraud was obliged by the natives to build a boat. They gathered wood from all over the island and everyone participated in the construction of the truly "national boat."

The few boats on Easter Island are joint property of all those who have contributed to their building, either in work or in furnishing wood. One such boat belongs to seven men, and each must give his permission before the boat can be used. The joint owners of a boat fish together and divide their catch among their own families. If the canoe belongs to a single person, those who help him fish receive the least desirable fish, and the owner keeps the tuna fish.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

THIEVERY

The thievery of Easter Islanders has been stressed by all visitors and their dishonesty has become as famous as their statues. Even when the Europeans avenged the small thefts by slaughtering the unarmed natives, the islanders continued to steal. They used the charms of their women to distract the seamen while they robbed them of their hats or handkerchiefs.

The thievery of the natives is not merely the result of uncontrolled desire for many new and astonishing things. Their dishonesty appears innate and systematic; they enjoy stealing the fruits they have given to their visitors as much as the theft of cloth or European articles. Their bartering with the white men is absolutely unscrupulous; they filled with stones the baskets

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

342 6 meters and the smallest, 2.56 by 1.2 meters. The height is between 1.3 and 2 meters. There are 49 such houses.

The last houses of the lower row overlap the carved rocks of Orongo and were built after the sculptures were made.

Among the stones used in building the village of Orongo are some curbs from the thatched huts. Like Routledge, I think that the natives first tried to build thatched huts at Orongo. When they realized that such houses could not withstand the winds, they utilized the laminae of the quarry near by, applying a technique which they had learned in building ahus. It is nevertheless quite surprising that they retained the general plan derived from wooden and grass huts. The village of Orongo is a local development and an improvement on previously known methods.

CANOES

● 501 Early visitors to Easter Island were surprised to find canoes there, as the barrenness of the country seemed little fitted to provide wood for construction. All those who describe Easter Island canoes manifest the same admiration for the ingenious and patient way small pieces of wood had been assembled to make the hull. "Their canoes," writes Roggeveen (186, p. 19), "are fitted together of small boards and light frames, which they skilfully lace together with very fine laid twine made from the above mentioned vegetable product, piet." One of Gonzalez's officers estimated that these "narrow boards" were "about a cuarta [roughly a span] in width" and were fastened together with wooden pegs. This statement probably refers to small patches inserted with pegs to mend imperfections in the wood. Cook (53, vol. 1, pp. 292-293) noticed in the structure of one canoe "a board 6 or 7 feet long, 14 inches broad at one end, and 8 at the other; whereas we did not see a stick on the island that would have made a board half that size; nor indeed was there another piece in the whole canoe, half so big." This big plank was either left by Gonzalez or was a piece of driftwood. La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) describes the planks of the canoes as very narrow and 4 or 5 feet long. In 1886, Thomson (215, p. 474) saw in a cave two very old canoes which were used as coffins. They were made of several kinds of wood which do not grow on Easter Island and therefore must have been driftwood. In general, sources agree as to the form of the hull.

The canoes were very narrow and had raised and curved stem and stern pieces and a comparatively low middle (186, p. 19; 53, vol. 1, p. 292; 83, vol. 1, p. 558). The boat depicted by La Pérouse (fig. 18, *a*) complies with this description. It has upturned ends but the projections are broad, flat, and rounded instead of being pointed as indicated by Roggeveen. Choris' sketches (fig. 18, *b*, *c*) indicate that both ends of the canoe were extended, resembling a narrow bowsprit. In Hornell's estimation (109, p. 98) this projection is about 15 inches long.

The outrigger (*auva*) is mentioned in the report of Gonzalez's expedition and is described by Forster as made of three slender poles (two booms and a float). In the original drawing by La Pérouse's artist, Blondela, the distal ends of the two slender booms are forked and fit over the float to which they are lashed. The proximal ends of the booms are attached to the gunwales. One of the canoes sketched by Choris (fig. 18, *b*) has a double outrigger formed of short, thin booms resting horizontally on the gunwales and supporting two slender floats. Another (fig. 18, *c*) shows no float but

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

it has outrigger booms near the ends of the canoe. To the extremities of these booms are lashed the ends of a curved rod, bent almost double, and lashed at the center to the bow and stern projections. This horseshoe frame suggests a contrivance used on the sterns of Tuamotuan canoes of Tatakoto (109, p. 62). My informant on Easter Island remembered having heard of hoof-shaped frames at the ends of canoes and tried to explain certain obscure designs which accompany the representation of boats on petroglyphs as attempts made by native artists to figure the hoof-shaped parts of their craft. My informant was positive that the bowed frames were supports for nets or lines.

The drawings in which the outrigger floats cannot touch the water (fig. 18, *b-c*) are very likely inaccurate; the original sketch, from which the La Pérouse drawing was made (fig. 18, *a*), shows an attempt to represent a curved boom. Although the outriggers of Easter Island canoes were composed of slender poles, I doubt whether they were merely the "vestigial attachments" that Hornell supposes. Their flimsiness was probably imposed by lack of suitable wood. Surely a people with a scarcity of wood would not take the trouble to fix useless floats on their canoes purely for decoration. Floats of Tuamotuan canoes were likewise very slender, but nevertheless served their purpose.

It is doubtful whether the boat drawn by Choris (fig. 18, *b*) really had a double outrigger. The square frame formed by the outrigger booms may be analogous to the bowed withy. On the other hand, it would not be surprising for a native to think of attaching a second outrigger to compensate for the inefficiency of a single float too slender to insure the balance of the boat. The existence of the double outrigger on Easter Island rests on too weak ground to be considered a feature peculiar to the culture.

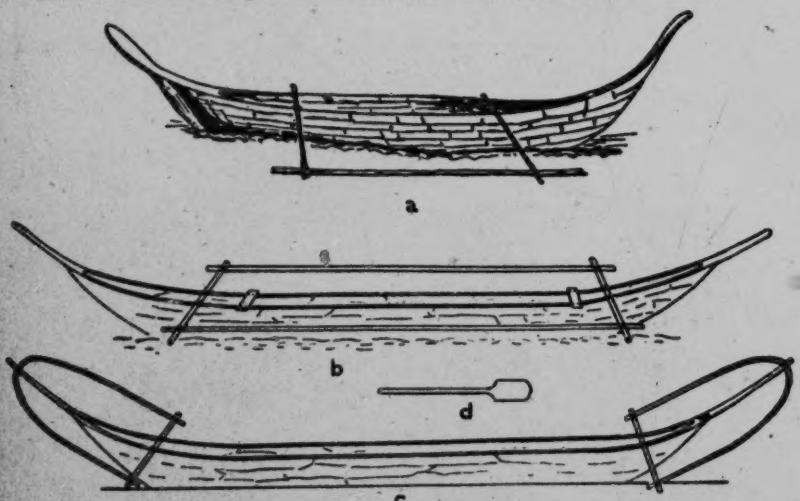

FIGURE 18.—Canoes: *a*, canoe (after original sketch by Blondela, 1780, in Archives du Ministère de la Marine, Paris); *b,c,d*, canoes and paddle after Choris (1822-26).

The length of the canoes has been variously estimated. Roggeveen (186, p. 19) says that they were 10 feet long "not counting the high and pointed stem and stern pieces. Their width is such that, with their legs packed close

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

501 together, they can just sit in them so as to paddle ahead." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 292) gives the length of canoes as 18 or 20 feet; this is clearly an overstatement, corrected by Forster who estimates the size of the canoes at 10 or 12 feet. Kotzebue (127, vol. 7, p. 137) speaks of canoes 5 to 6 feet long and 1 foot wide. Four persons were the limit of their capacity. Generally they were manned by two persons, frequently women.

824 The Easter Island canoes leaked a great deal, forcing the natives to spend much time bailing. A moss called *para* (*Campylopus hydrophilus*) was 823 used for caulking the seams. This *para* grows in great abundance on the surface of the crater lake of Rano-kao. Black earth (*varekahi*) which dried in the air was also used for the same purpose.

177 When the firm of Brander was exploiting the island, several Tahitians 501 who accompanied Salmon to Easter Island introduced Tahitian canoes, which were still used in 1911. Knoche (123, p. 189) mentions four of them, each provided with an outrigger. The tradition of canoes, given by my informants, referred partially to these boats of Tahitian type; however, several details are probably genuine.

I was told that the best wood for canoe making was the *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*). Planks from this tree were sometimes about 20 cm. broad and fairly long. Their edges were beveled or rabbetted for close fitting. The pieces of wood or "patches" were sewed together by cords passing through holes pierced through the margins, and the holes were caulked with moss. The hull was painted like a checkerboard, white and dark. Canoes decorated thus were called *papa hakatara*. The outrigger described by my informant is the typically Tahitian one with indirect attachment.

The general Easter Island name for any craft is *vaka*. *Vaka poepoe* is either a canoe or a whaleboat. The keel is *tino*. The bow, *oho o te vaka*; the stern, *tua o te vaka*; the gunwale, *vaivai*. The booms are the *hiato*; the float, *ama* (*hamae*, Roussel; *amatiatia*, Brown, 27, p. 285); the thwarts, *pepe*. The projecting stern and bow pieces are *tuero*, which on the king's craft were decorated with wreaths of feathers.

501 Though Roggeveen says that the natives had many canoes, all the travelers who visited the island after him stressed the small number of canoes seen. In 1770 the Spaniards (90, p. 121) found only two, and they believed that these were all that the islanders had. Cook reports only three or four canoes. La Pérouse observed no more than three canoes at the same place and foresaw that in the near future, through want of wood, there would be no canoes left on the island. Kotzebue reports only two canoes in 1816. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 40) says that "three canoes were noticed hauled up on the shore" in 1825. In 1838, Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 227) passed along La Pérouse Bay and received the visits of natives who came in five canoes. In each canoe were two men and a woman who "was crouching or lying on her breast so as not to be an obstacle to the movement of the craft or perhaps to give it more stability." He estimates at 12 the total number of canoes which he saw along the north and the west coasts.

James Hamilton, master of the *Prudence* who fought with the Easter

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Islanders in 1856, saw several European boats in possession of natives. He thinks that few canoes were made on the island. One of my informants, a woman of good judgment, told me that while fishing her grandfather was carried by a storm to Salas y Gomez reef, 200 miles from Easter Island. On his return he had a boat tattooed on his cheek to commemorate his adventure. If this voyage was actually made, it was certainly on a whaleboat.

When Eyraud went to the island for the first time the natives insisted that he build a boat for them. The missionary was reluctant, for he doubted that the wood supply was sufficient for that. The natives, who were not disheartened, shouted, "We have more wood than we need," and they collected every available scrap. With their help, Eyraud built a boat, which proved wholly inadequate when launched. When an Easter Islander, who had been absent for a few years, returned, chiefs with their retainers seized the boat on which he was coming ashore and fought for its possession until the boat was destroyed (230, vol. 6, p. 121).

These incidents express strikingly a deep-rooted love of navigation, despite the handicaps of nature.

Comparison with Other Polynesian Canoes

The Polynesians who colonized Easter Island must have traveled in double canoes. This is substantiated by the tradition that Hotu-matua and his followers arrived in two boats lashed together. The expression "a piece of wood," that Hornell (109, p. 103) interprets as referring to a raft, is an erroneous translation of the word *oraora*, the name of the craft on which traveled the six scouts sent by Hotu-matua (p. 56).

Easter Island canoes, though poor, retained traits which connect them with boats of other more favored parts of Polynesia. The typical raised ends of Easter Island canoes are characteristic of those in the Tuamotus (old model of a canoe), the Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii, and Mangareva. The upturned ends of Easter Island canoes (fig. 18, *a*) had a spatulate form which might be compared with the curved terminal of Hawaiian canoes, though these are much lower.

Evidence that double-outrigger canoes existed on Easter Island is exceedingly weak, resting solely on Choris' drawing. However, it has been accepted by Dixon (60, p. 76) who considers the supposed Easter Island double outrigger to be a sign of former, wider distribution of this type in Polynesia. As other proofs of the presence of double outriggers in Polynesia, Dixon refers to New Zealand, the Marquesas, and Samoa about which he is dubious. Hornell (109, pp. 31, 198) discards, with convincing arguments, the former existence of the double outrigger in New Zealand and in the Marquesas. A loose use of words is responsible for the statement that double outriggers exist in Samoa (109, p. 239). If the double-outrigger canoe was

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

501 171 really known on Easter Island, this would be exceptional not only for Easter Island but also for Polynesia in general.

The booms of Easter Island canoes were connected directly to the float. This so-called direct attachment has the following distribution in Polynesia: Hawaii, the outer Tuamotus, Rimatara and probably other Austral Islands, the Cook Islands (except Aitutaki), Tutuila (Samoa), and formerly the Marquesas. In the direct attachment type, the booms may be lashed to the float or inserted in it. The exact Easter Island method is not known, but, if the original sketch for the plate in La Pérouse's atlas (fig. 18, *a*) is correct, the booms of the outrigger terminated in forks holding the float, a method which is known nowhere else in Polynesia. Supplementary lashing must have existed, though it is not shown in the sketch. Possibly one point of the fork was inserted into the float as in the Cook Islands floats (109, pp. 163, 166).

Rafts

481 609 The natives made up for the shortage of canoes by developing a remarkable skill in swimming. When a ship came in sight they all jumped into the water and tried to reach it, even if it was far away. Captain Rugg of the bark *Prudence* told Dumont d'Urville (63, vol. 3, p. 387) that when he passed Easter Island, natives did not hesitate to swim 2 miles in a rough sea to board his ship. Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 228) says that women moved the legs and arms alternately in swimming while the men moved them at the same time.

501 The Easter Islanders used rafts (*pora*) made of bulrush mats, rolled into big, conical bundles. The swimmer reclined on the thicker part of the bundle which he grasped firmly with his hand while he paddled with his feet. According to my informant some of these bundles were 7 feet long and could be used simultaneously by two persons. Lisiansky (143, p. 58) is the first voyager to mention the *pora*. He describes it as a "rush mat which he [a native] used as support in swimming." Two of the islanders who boarded Du Petit-Thouars ship came on *pora*. "We were very much surprised," [609] writes Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 231), "to notice that each of these natives was riding on a reed roller, of the form of a wheat sheaf. They brought us in order to be welcomed, bananas, sweet-potatoes and yams, enclosed in their reeds." The carrying of food in *pora* was often described to me by islanders and said to be the usual method for taking food to the *manu-tara* egg hunters on Motu-nui (p. 335). A *pora* illustrated in the atlas of Du Petit-Thouars is conical and slightly curved (fig. 33, *a*). It is approximately 5 feet high; the reeds are tied together at four different places. Palmer (171, p. 172) compares the float to "a very large elephant tusk, made of sedge, rushes, etc."

Before planks were introduced, natives used *pora* for surf riding. The natives seen about 1838 by the captain of the *Prudence* had substituted planks.

Paddles

Wood shortage is again reflected in Easter Island paddles (*mata-kao*; *hoe-hoe*, to paddle), which were made of two pieces: a separate blade (*pararaha*), lashed to a long handle (*kukuru*). Two complete paddles were collected by Thomson (215, p. 538, pl. 59), who describes them as "very old and highly

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

prized by the islanders as the only specimen of the scull-oar used by their ancestors." Bishop Museum has three blades, of which one, half rotten, is very old and a good specimen (B3631). (See fig. 19.)

The front part of one paddle blade has a very light depression in the middle which is more accentuated, almost a groove, in the modern pieces. The upward projection to which the handle was lashed, has been hollowed out so that the butt of the stick lies between two raised borders and is fixed against a raised shoulder. At the lower end of the longitudinal depression, on either side, are two large holes through which the lashing was passed. On the back the upward projection has a flange, almost a knob, near the poll to prevent the tie from sliding out. The blade itself has a high median flange (93 mm. high in one specimen and 72 mm. in the others). This crest terminates in a round and flattened knob somewhat compressed in front. This knob (*ponga kekepu*), probably intended to give a pendulum swing to the paddle, rejoins in a continuous curved line the surface of the front side. The terminal knob has a piece of bone or tooth incrusted in the wood. Hooks were sometimes incised on the flanges. The handle lashed to the blade was a long piece of wood with a flange at the distal end.

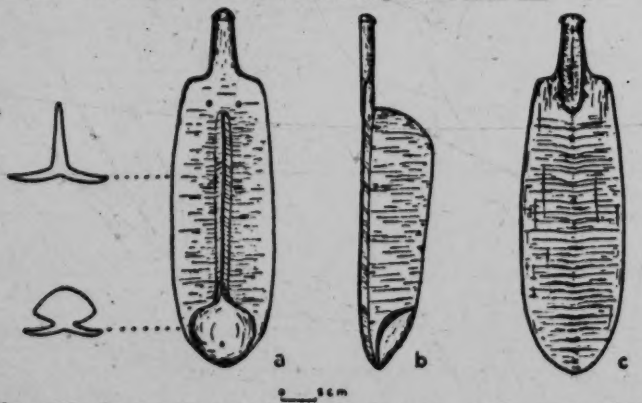

FIGURE 19.—Canoe paddle (*mata-kao*, B3631), blade 552 mm. long, and 133 mm. wide, handle fastened against upward projection 106 mm. long and 52 mm. wide; blade rounded and slightly curved backward: *a*, front with raised flange; *b*, lateral showing knob; *c*, back of paddle.

Hornell (109, p. 100) is misled by Thomson in regarding dance paddles (*ao*) as representative of the ancient type of paddle used on Easter Island and the actual paddles as scull oars. Dance paddles had nothing to do with navigation and are not derived from any known implement. The composite paddle with high median flange is very accurately reproduced in Lavis de Dubois de Vancy's original drawing (see also 83, vol. 1, p. 558). This and the unanimous testimony of the natives prove that these paddles were actually used.

The Easter Island composite paddle is unique, yet it has in common with the Marquesan and Mangarevan paddles a stout knob at the distal end. This

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

knob is bulkier than those of other islands and lacks the beaked shape which characterizes both the Marquesan and Mangarevan paddles. On one face of Tuamotuan paddles is a median flange which prolongs the handle and stops near the distal end, also provided with a knob. The other surface has a ridge continuous to the tip. Some Hawaiian paddles (109, p. 17) have a small rib at the tip. Cook Islands paddles are characterized by a raised flange.

CORDAGE

Cords (*hau*) were made of *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) or paper mulberry bast. The bark was stripped off the tree, the outer surface scraped away, and the bast allowed to dry. The fibers were rolled on the bare thigh into strands which were twisted together. The number of plies in ropes varied according to the size and strength required. Now only fine cords are made, principally for trade. Geiseler (87, p. 49) says that bulrush bast was used for making ropes, but he is certainly mistaken, for bulrush fibers are not strong enough for cords and natives never mentioned the bulrush among the cordage material. A microscopic analysis by Dr. Roland W. Brown of the seine net (*kupenga maito*) in the National Museum in Washington showed that the twine was made of paper mulberry fibers. Thomson (215, p. 460) speaks of the *hau* bark and of a native hemp. No hemp grows on the island and it is impossible to know to what plant Thomson alludes. Braided human hair (*hiri*) was very popular on Easter Island for cords. Even in Tahiti the Easter Islanders made such braids (56, p. 321).

MATS

Mats were termed *moenga* (thing-to-sleep-on); thus the name defines the principal use. Mats were also worn by women instead of tapa cloaks. Dead people were wrapped in mats, and many mat fragments were found in the tombs. Rolled into big bundles, mats formed swimming floats (*pora*). Not a single mat is to be had nowadays, but natives remember the general principle of technique, which is illustrated in two reed mats collected by Geiseler and stored in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (pl. 2, *C*).

The reeds (*Scirpus riparius*) come from the lakes of Rano-aroi and Rano-kao. They were split open with the thumb nail and allowed to dry for a few days before the soft substance was scraped out with the nails. The strips were then sewn together with doubled lengths of *hau* string spaced at intervals along the length of the strips. For technique see figure 20.

The mat shown in plate 2, *C*, is 159 cm. long by 107 cm. wide. It has 16 weft lines which are spaced about 10 cm. apart or nearly 4 inches. Another mat in the Berlin Museum (VI.4971) is 195 cm. by 187 cm. An informant writes that the ends of the strips were fastened by two strings that were knotted around each strip, but this technique does not appear in the mat figured in plate 2, *C*.

BASKETS

Food that natives traded to the Cook expedition was presented in large mat bags of very neat workmanship (83, vol. 1, p. 590). A woman depicted

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

It only remains to say, in concluding the subject of these dwelling-huts, that we did not see more than six or seven of them at the place where we landed, from which it may clearly be inferred that all the Indians make use of their possessions in common, for the large size and small number of their dwellings give one to know that many live together and sleep in a single building; but if one should therefore conclude that the women are held in common among them, one must naturally expect depravity and bickering to ensue.

Finally, as to their seagoing craft, they are of poor and flimsy construction; for their canoes are fitted together of a number of small boards and light frames, which they skilfully lace together with very fine laid twine made from the above-mentioned vegetable product *Piet*. But as they lack the knowledge, and especially the material, for caulking the great number of seams of their canoes, and making them tight, they consequently leak a great deal; on account of which they are necessitated to spend half their time in baling. Their canoes are about ten feet long, not counting the high and pointed stem and stern pieces. Their width is such that, with their legs packed close together, they can just sit in them so as to paddle ahead.

It was now deemed advisable to go to the other side of the Island, whereto the King or Head Chief invited us, as being the principal place of their plantations and fruit-trees, for all the things they brought to us of that kind were fetched from that quarter,—inasmuch as the Northerly wind which began to blow made our anchorage a leeshore: the more so because we had not many people on board the Ships, who could get help from us if necessary in the event of the wind waxing strong; moreover, the boats and shallops being filled to the utmost with men, these would in such a case not have been able to get back on board, either by reason of the heavy sea on the beach or of its becoming

7: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

points; and during the remainder of the day the only place we found fit to land at was the cove of San Juan, as it had a sandy beach. We did not disclose our presence there, in order not to lose time. We considered that it must have a plentiful supply of fresh water, because we saw there more gravel [*chacaras*] than in any other part of the island. We also found the best anchorage for ships.

On the 17th of the said [month], day dawned with the horizon clear, and a moderate breeze from the Eastward. At five in the morning we got under way in both launches and made sail towards the Cape of San Antonio. Half a league before reaching the cape we came abreast of a point, off which were a quantity of rocks or boulders sticking up out of the water; and saw that two little canoes were coming out from among them with two men in each, making for the *Santa Rosalia's* launch; so we waited for them in order that they might join our party. They gave the people of the said launch plantains, Chili peppers, sweet potatoes and fowls; and in return our men gave them hats, *chamorretas*, &c., and they went off contentedly with these to the shore. These canoes are constructed of five extremely narrow boards (on account of there being no thick timber in the country) about a *cuarta*[1] in width; they are consequently so crank that they are provided with an outrigger to prevent them from capsizing; and I think that these are the only ones in the whole of the island. They are fitted together with wooden pegs in place of nails. Then we passed on to examine the rocky islets to which we gave the name of 'Lángara': they lie S.W. ¼S. from the cape of San Cristoval, the seaward one being about a mile off that headland, and the inshore one in between. They are about half a cable apart the one from

[1] A *cuarta* is a quarter of a *vara* or yard, and may be roughly translated a 'span.'

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

X175
1774 March. ance confirmed us in this opinion, and proved them iſſued from the ſame ſtock. They were of a middle ſtature, but rather thin; their features reſembled thoſe of the Taheitians, but were leſs agreeable: one of them had a beard, which was cut to the length of about half an inch; the other was a youth of about ſeventeen. They had punctures of the ſame nature with thoſe uſed by the natives of the Society and Friendly Iſlands and of New Zeeland; but their whole body, which was perfectly naked, was marked with them. The greateſt ſingularity which we obſerved about them was the ſize of their ears, of which the lap or extremity was ſtretched out ſo as almoſt to reſt on the ſhoulder, and pierced by a very large hole, through which four or five fingers might be thruſt with eaſe. This circumſtance entirely agreed with the deſcription which the ſerjeant-major of Roggewein's ſhip gives of theſe people*. Their canoe was another curioſity, being patched up of many pieces, each of which was not more than four or five inches wide, and two or three feet long. Its length might be about ten or twelve feet, its head and ſtern were raiſed conſiderably, but its middle was very low. It had an outrigger or balancer made of three ſlender poles, and each of the men had a paddle, of which the blade was likewiſe compoſed of ſeveral pieces. This deſcription alſo exactly correſponds with the

[142]
[302]
X175
384
X175
●501

* See Mr. Dalrymple's Hiſtorical Collection, vol. II. p. 90, 94, or Hiſtoire de l'Expedition de Trois Vaiſſeaux, tome I. p. 133, a la Haye 1739.

Dutch

91 Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Dutch account of Roggewein's voyage, printed at Dort in 1728*; and ſufficiently proved that the iſland is very deſtitute of wood, though the contrary is aſcertained in the ſerjeant-major's relation of that voyage †.

Though we ſtruck ſoundings oppoſite the place from whence this canoe put off, yet in hopes of finding a better place of anchorage, we ran along the coaſt of the iſland, till we came in ſight of its northern extremity, which we had already ſeen the day before from the other ſide. But being diſappointed in our expectation, we put about with a view to return to the place which we had left. A great number of black pillars ſtood along the ſhore, many of which were elevated on platforms conſiſting of ſeveral ranges of ſtone. We could now diſtinguiſh ſomething reſembling a human head and ſhoulders towards their upper end; but the lower part appeared to be a rude ſtone, without being carved into a reſemblance of the human ſhape. Sometimes we perceived two, ſometimes four, and even five together in a row; but ſome were likewiſe placed by themſelves. We ſaw but few plantations towards the north end, the land being much more bluff or ſteep there, than about the middle of the iſland, and we could eaſily perceive that there was not a tree upon the whole iſland, which exceeded the height of ten feet.

* See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag. 111.

† Ibid. vol. II. p. 95; or Hiſtoire, &c. vol. I. p. 138.

In

15;Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

The word "poe-poe" is described as meaning a big canoe, such as their ancestors came in to the island. It is applied to two types of ahu, one of which is obviously built to resemble a boat; of this kind there are about twelve in the island. One large one (fig. 94) measured as much as 178 feet in length, the width being 20 feet, while the ends, which are made like the bow and stern of a canoe, are about 12 feet to 15 feet in height. The flat top is paved with sea-boulders, and is surrounded by a row of the same in imitation of the gunwale of a boat. In one such ahu two vaults were found by us just below the surface with perfect burials. One was the body of an old man, the other of a woman with a child. Both had been wrapped in reeds, and with the body of the woman were some glass beads. On the surface of the ahu were a few bones, possibly of a body which had been exposed there, but the ahu had apparently been built for the two interments. It is less obvious why the same name, "ahu poe-poe," should be applied to a burial-place which was wedge-shaped in form. It follows the lines of the image ahu in so far as having a wall towards the sea flanked on the land sides by a slope of masonry. It might be held to represent the prow of a boat, but resembles rather a pier or jetty. Only some six of these were seen, of which the longest was 70 feet. One in a lonely spot, at the very edge of a high cliff, which overlooked Anakena Bay, formed a most striking abode for the dead (fig. 95).

764 [501]

In a few cases the term ahu is given to a pavement, generally by the roadside, neatly made of rounded boulders and edged with a curb; the form was said to be ancient. One of those on the west road was reported as specially dedicated to mata-toa—which signifies victors or warriors—and the same was said of a differently made ahu on the south coast.[1]

Neither exposure nor interment was necessarily confined to ahu, and corpses were frequently disposed of in caverns, as in the case of Ko Tori. Three instances were mentioned, an uncle and two nephews, where the corpses, after being exposed, were lowered with a rope down the crevasses of the cliff of Raraku

766

[1] When all those ahu which can be placed in categories as Image, Semi-Pyramid, Canoe, Wedge-shaped, or Pavement have been noted, there remain, out of the total of two hundred and sixty burial-places, some fourteen which are unique in design; and between sixty and seventy which cannot be classified, either because they are mere cairns or in too ruined a condition to be identified.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

346 796 to obtain the painted slabs within, but most are in fair, and some in perfect, preservation. The form of construction suitable to the low ground has perhaps been tried here and abandoned, for some of the foundation-stones, pierced with holes to support the superstructure of stick and grass, are built into the existing dwellings. The present buildings (fig. 104) are well adapted to such a wind-swept spot; they are made of stone laminæ, with walls about 6 feet thick; the inside walls are generally lined with vertical slabs, and horizontal slabs form the roof.

The greater number are built at the back into rising ground, and their sides and top are covered with earth; the natives call them not "haré," or houses, but "ana," or caves. Where space permits it, the form is boat-shaped, but some have been adapted to natural contours.[1] The dwellings vary in shape and size, from 52 feet by 6 feet to 8 feet by 4 feet; the height within varies from 4 feet to over 6 feet, but it is the exception to be able to stand upright. In some cases they open out of one another, and not unfrequently there is a hatch between two through which food could be passed. The doorway, with its six foot of passage, is just large enough to admit a man. (Into each of them, armed with ends of candles, we either crawled on hands and knees, or wriggled like serpents, according to our respective heights.) The slabs lining the wall, which are just opposite the doorway, and thus obtain a little light, are frequently painted; [532] some of them have bird and others native designs, but perhaps the most popular is a European ship, sometimes in full sail, and once with a sailor aloft in a red shirt (fig. 105). Inside the [352 513] houses we found the flat, sea-worn boulders which are used as pillows and often incised with rough designs; there were also a few obsidian spear heads, or mataa, and once or twice sphagnum from the crater, which was used for caulking boats, and also as [501 505] a sponge to retain fresh water when at sea. Outside many of the doors are small stone-lined holes, which we cleared out and examined. They measure roughly rather under 2 feet across by some 15 inches in depth. Our guides first told us that they were "ovens," but, as no ash was found, it seems probable that their second thoughts were right, and they were used to contain stores.

[1] An accurate large scale plan of the village was made by Lieutenant D. R. Ritchie, R.N., and every house was measured and described by the Expedition.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

"hopu," went to the islet when the Ao went up to Orongo, or possibly rather later. Each made up his provisions into a "pora," or securely bound bundle of reeds; he then swam on the top of the packet, holding it with one arm and propelling himself with the remaining arm and both legs. An incantation, which was recited to us, was said by him before starting. In one instance, the ivi-atua, at the same time that he gave the nomination, prophesied that the year that it was taken up a man should be eaten by a large fish. The original recipient never availed himself of it, but on his death-bed told his son of the prophecy. The son, Kilimuti, undeterred by it, entered for the race and sent two men to the islet; one of them started to swim there with his pora, but was never heard of again, and it was naturally said that the prophecy had been fulfilled. Kilimuti wasted no regret over the misfortune, obtained another servant, and secured the egg; he died while the Expedition was on the island.

The hopu lived together in a large cave of which the entrance is nearly concealed by grass. The inside, however, is light and airy; it measures 19 feet by 13, with a height of over 5 feet, and conspicuous among other carvings in the centre of the wall is a large ao more than 7 feet in length. A line dividing the islet between Kotuu and Hotu Iti passed through the centre of the cave, and also through another cave nearer the edge of the islet; in this latter there was at one time a statue about 2 feet high known as Titahanga-o-te-henua, or The Boundary of the Land.[1] As bad weather might prevent fresh consignments of food during the weeks of waiting, the men carefully dried on the rocks the skins of the bananas and potatoes which they had brought with them, to be consumed in case of necessity. It was added with a touch appreciated by those acquainted with Easter Island, that, if the man who thus practised foresight was not careful, others who had no food would steal it when he was not looking.

The approach of the manu-tara can be heard for miles, for their cry is their marked peculiarity, and the noise during nesting is said to be deafening; one incised drawing of the bird shows

[1] This statue was removed to the mainland shortly before our arrival, and we were able to procure it in exchange for one of the yacht blankets. It is now at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (fig. 111).